Social Heritage and Character

KIMBALL YOUNG

ONE of the most important questions of child development has to do with the manner in which children arrive at moral principles. In other words, how do children get their ideas and habits of right and wrong conduct? Perhaps the simplest and all too common answer to this question is that the child has a supernatural conscience which "tells" him what is right and what is wrong. Such a notion is highly false and must be abandoned if we are to develop an adequate standpoint toward character education. Conscience is not something inherited biologically from our ancestors. Nor is it something handed down by divine powers for our daily guidance in an evil world. Conscience is but a form of attitude and habit, a social product.

It is a common saying in child psychology that the most important person the child will ever meet is his mother. Second only to her influence is that of the father. In our particular society it is usually true that the child can scarcely escape their effects. The child at birth must be looked upon realistically as an individual dominated throughout by natural biological impulses or tendencies which have to do with survival. This being, who is the object ordinarily of such solicitude on the part of adults, has no other concern than to live as easily and as free from pain as any other healthy animal. The newborn baby is not human or social in any strict sense of these words. He only acquires these qualities through learning. One basic function of the adults who surround the child is to impress upon him the patterns of the social order in such a fashion that he will, as he grows up, be able to participate acceptably in the social world. Thought of in this way, it is evident that all training or learning has to do actually with changing the original natural impulses of the infant into habits and attitudes which are socially acceptable to others and in time to the child himself.

In the carry-over of the social order to the child, where does the moral order come in? Curiously enough, there are many intelligent parents who, although they certainly do not believe that conscience is some divine gift which will keep their children straight, have nevertheless strange notions about how the child acquires his moral concepts or habits. One of these is that moral training does not begin until infancy and early childhood are well past, and that the fundamental habits and attitudes of the first years have little or no place in moral training.

"Oh, that's nothing," remarks a fond mother when her dear three-year-old destroys another's property, "it's just a baby trick."

Something of this same viewpoint is evident in some of the current nonsense about "progressive education" which proceeds on the theory that the young child should never be curbed in any way but always allowed his "freedom" to develop as his wishes or impulses dictate. This may be called the romantic theory of moral training, originating as it does largely in the dogmas of Rousseau.

Another equally false notion still common among parents is that moral habits and attitudes are built up by talking to the child, by giving him a long string of "Don't do this" and "Don't do that," and by the inculcation of a lot of fine sounding words about right and wrong. This may be called the method of verbal magic. Fortunately or unfortunately this mode of training has about as much effect as the operations of the primitive medicine man who attempts to cure a fever or set a broken bone by incantation.

We may say without fear of contradiction that moral training commences at the same time as all other basic training, and that delay in the latter has its inevitable effects upon the former. The first impress of the social order upon the newborn infant has to do with the regulation of his fundamental impulses

or needs. Character training may be said to begin with basic training in the regulation of feeding, elimination, sleeping, playing, and in the development of all the fundamental habits which change the newborn individual from a biological to a social being. The conditioning of the child to control his wants—for food, drink, sleep, elimination, play and attention by others—is connected with the deepest emotions of love, fear and anger. The untempered, free expression of bodily needs is pleasant to the child and his regulatory habits are only built up at the cost of pain and discomfort. Yet social rewards of all sorts soon come to furnish substitutes for these biological pleasures and in time the child finds self-control more pleasurable than not. Above all else he finds social approval highly necessary and desirable for his own happiness. In short this shift is basically a matter of emotional training.

Educating the Emotions

When we realize that the social and moral training of the child is not intellectual but emotional many of our problems will be already half solved. Emotional control is absolutely essential for adaptation to the social order. And the first place where this emotional training occurs is within the family, through interaction between the parents and the child. The chief features of this control are authority on the side of the parents and submission and obedience on the part of the child. While the mother takes over some of this authority, it is the father who in most homes still plays the leading role. The roots for this submission are laid, of course, in the dependence of the child for food, clothes and protection. As the child grows up it is only natural for him to follow the directions of the mother and the father in regard to matters of right or wrong conduct, just as earlier he has been taught obedience and regularity in regard to feeding, sleeping and bodily care. As the circle of the child's social contacts widens, he is presented with new problems. He is not always prepared for these but the parents furnish convenient verbal definitions of new situations. That is, they tell him how to react in regard to others' property, others' wishes, in regard to matters of courtesy, decency, and so on. Instead of assisting the child by friendly counsel or, better still, allowing him time to make certain decisions for himself, the parents furnish him ready-made and usually verbalized solutions—"Don't do this." "That is not right." "The other is good." In this way the child's infantile dependence continues, correlating the parents' authority principle with what W. I. Thomas admirably calls the "ordering and forbidding technique"—the world's oldest method of moral control. The persistence of this dependence means that emotionally the child is not developing normally. He runs to cover every time he is confronted with a difficult problem, as typified by the boy who is so tied to his mother's apron strings that he never can make any fundamental responsible decision, even as to his own vocation or marriage.

Steps Toward Integrity

To put all this otherwise and more briefly, moral training as it concerns parent-child relations involves first of all the problem of emotional emancipation from parental dominance. Secondly, there must arise a sense of responsibility for one's own acts. And, finally, there must develop the fiber or integrity to face the consequences of one's acts without recourse to rationalization or protection under the wing of someone else. This is a difficult attainment which few adults ever completely reach although socially adequate persons do approximate it.

With this goal before us, let us sketch briefly some of the basic moral patterns transmitted from parent to child which too often set limitations on all subsequent developments of moral behavior. In the religious-moral patterns of our own society, the dominant notions concern chastity, truthfulness, honesty and obedience to parental as well as to divine authority. Into any number of concrete situations such words as "good," "bad," "evil," "nasty," "naughty," "right" and "wrong" are introduced. They define behavior in terms of social approval by parents and other adults and set the stage for controlling subsequent action. Moreover, in our society we have developed elaborate means both in the home and still more in such institutions as the church and the school for anticipating moral situations by descriptions of what befalls one if one does not live up to the standards, if one slips from the path of righteousness. Often the child has only an emotional feeling about these words without any actual experience in habit formation, because no concrete situations are ever presented to him. Thus in regard to necessary and fundamental sex education, too often the child even in the so-called modern and progressive home is left without any genuine sense as to what all this "scientific" and "appropriate" stuff really means to experience. In this way, however, conscience, the invariable guide, is built up; but such a conscience derives largely from others' experience and little from one's own. For the most part conscience is just this induction of vague feeling within the child himself coupled with comments furnished by the adult. One

child once admirably described conscience "as a feeling within me but the voice of somebody else."

With these concepts of right and wrong, articles of a particular religious faith are frequently coupled. There is an assumption that the members of one's own church are peculiarly favored from on high and that those who hold other theological beliefs are somehow inferior. In this manner religious prejudice comes in to bolster the moral codes laid down both at home and later in the church. The child is not led to any genuine choice of his religious tenets and practices, but these are foisted on him by his parents and adult relatives so early that he can hardly escape them. Like the ordering and forbidding technique of moral control, his theological notions are not the product of his own interpretation and experience but rather of the interpretation and experience of others, often of generations long dead.

What Is—and Is Not—Being Done

RELATED more closely than we may realize to religious-moral matters, are the notions of economic and political morality which we acquire from our home and early community contacts. The myths, legends and practices of a particular political party are usually carried over to the child both by suggestion and direct instruction so early that he unconsciously follows the parental pattern. Since most adults are not rational in their decisions as to political affiliations, since they are themselves the victims of early suggestion, it is no wonder that children do not ordinarily diverge from the parental patterns. It is often only after many costly experiences that the individual finds his way out of the parental political patterns to something which may satisfy his developing notions of the right and proper.

In like manner and even more subtly the fundamental economic traditions and moralities are thrust upon children. The capitalistic economic order is accepted as correct and right. The sacredness of private property, the importance of individual enterprise, the development of egocentric desires along the lines of financial profit-making, the virtues of regularity, such as temperance, steadiness and thrift, and above all else rigid adherence to the business codes of ethics—these are the things impressed upon children in our American culture. It is correspondingly difficult for us to understand how other peoples, like our contemporaries, the Russians, can have other notions of economic or political morality. When a child sees and hears his father defending and practicing the sharp individualistic bargaining for profit and power which is implicit in our political and economic life, he cannot but accept these patterns and develop them to his own advantage.

Moreover, religious-theological rationalizations are provided by the church to help him correlate religious teachings with these business ideas and practices. Have we not often heard during these last years, for example, that Jesus was the first Rotarian, and from our Bruce Bartons and Roger Babsons that Christ preached the doctrines of thrift, business honesty, steadiness, and obedience to the "things that are Caesar's"? The greatest impetus for the acceptance of these ideas comes from the earliest training within the home itself. The school and the church but carry on the work. If parents did not themselves teach and practice these beliefs, the school and church would scarcely dare to do so.

Closely allied to these notions are the professional ideals and standards which the parents thrust upon their children. The superiority of one profession over another, of the professions over the skilled trades, of the latter over unskilled occupations—these beliefs are insidiously inculcated into our children until when they grow up they can no more escape the prejudices of class than the fabled leopard can change his spots. Although in American society class lines are not as sharply drawn as elsewhere, this rivalry still exists and is growing in force as economic differences are more sharply drawn. Success in the professional and clerical classes is more and more identified with the dominant virtues of big business and profit-taking enterprises. Members of all occupational groups in capitalist society, in fact, are infected with this virus of monetary success and the prestige it gives. And once again the child's first contact is through his parents, through their ideals of success, their myths and legends of heroes of industry and business.

Ethics in a Changing World

THUS even in such major interests of adults the carry-over from parent to child is inevitable so long as the patterns of dominance and dependence operate as they do. Signs are not wanting, of course, that other influences are at work. The increasing opportunity of the child to go out into other social groups such as the nursery school, play group and school, gives evidence that counteracting or divergent moral codes may be brought to the child before the full impact of traditional morality reaches him from the parents at home. Truly, we may not wish these other agencies to interfere with the ancient devices and time-worn codes of home moral training. This is a choice which the parents, not the children,

must make. It is imperative that we parents either recast our moral training or hand it over to other agencies which do sense the changing world.

It is easy to say that human nature never changes. Doubtless biological nature alters slowly, if at all, but the social order to which we must adjust has changed profoundly in the last fifty years, and has modified tremendously our moral valuations. We cannot dodge the responsibility as parents by a mere intellectual attack in terms of new verbal definitions. We can only meet the issue by emotional as well as intellectual growth in relation to the real and not the imaginary situation of the present. To throw ourselves upon the verbalisms of the past; to attempt the ordering-and-forbidding techniques applicable to simple primary groups of isolated village or neighborhood; to try to appeal to an out-worn concept of God and divine punishment—such attempts fly in the face of daily facts of which our children, if not we ourselves, are constantly aware. Such an intelligent view may deflate our parental ego but in the long run it is healthier for us as well as for our children. And when this mental health is attained nothing else matters.

The Coeducation of Parents and Children

Parents, even more than other teachers, must be fellow learners with the children whom they are seeking to guide.

PERCIVAL CHUBB

THAT every parent is called to be a teacher is a proposition that will be readily admitted; but it will signify little unless we can agree as to what it means to be a good teacher, and, more specifically, a good parent-teacher. How many parents seriously weigh the question? And how much agreement will there be as to the answer?

Here I shall attempt no full-length answer. I shall focus on one axiom of cardinal importance, namely, that every good teacher is a pupil-teacher. That is the first essential of vital and effective teaching: the teacher must be a fellow learner with his or her pupils. This implies that teaching is an enterprise in self-culture. So, for that matter, is every vocation, or should be. Unless a man can make of his means of livelihood a means of life, it must sink to the level of routine. He ceases to grow through its pursuit; and when he ceases to grow, he begins to die.

Of no teacher is this so patently true as it is of the parent-teacher, whose contacts with her children are the earliest and the most intimate and constant. The growing parent is a fellow pupil with her children in the great school of life; a few grades ahead of the child, but in all humility striving with the child for a wider knowledge and more scrupulous truthfulness, a finer justice and considerateness, and a more sensitive responsiveness to what is excellent and beautiful. The parent-teacher, much more than the school teacher, teaches by example or behavior. Her task is less the communication of knowledge than the formation of habits and attitudes. Precept without exemplification, without faithfulness, is a sham which the child will find out to his injury. We cannot expect a zeal for learning in the child if that zeal is lacking in the parent. Without fire in the parent, there can be no heat for the child.

Hence the conclusion, that no parent can effectually educate a child who is not seeking to be educated with and through the child, finding deeper and larger life through her ministrations. Hand in hand the two make a coeducational pilgrimage along the highway of life.

Such is our thesis. But it can get body and significance, and reveal its consequences and its call upon us, only if we give it its setting in our contemporary life. Let us begin at the beginning. Parenthood is a vocation, in the sense in which citizenship is and livelihood is. All are constituent parts of what a great philosopher called "the vocation of man," convergent aspects of his "calling" to live the complete life. They must be symphonized or integrated in a comprehensive philosophy of life. When, therefore, according to report, the young college woman queries, "Marriage or a Career?" she is the victim of a fictitious and false dilemma; as false as it would be to ask "Politics or a Career?" Marriage is a Career; none is more

challenging and exacting, as normally involving parenthood; none calls for a wider and more rewarding equipment.

Parenthood is life's second chance. Enter the child, and there enters an evangelist of the New Life—"a little Messiah," in Emerson's phrase, interrogating the past and envisaging a future. Its virginal soul and its necessitous body, clamoring to become a personality, compel a re-evaluation of all our values and a revision of our reading of life. What is this little fellow pilgrim for? Know thy child means know thyself—or, reknow thyself. The child is going to mean to us just as much as we mean to ourselves—and conversely.

The Rejection of Patriarchalism

WHAT this coeducational attitude implies may best be grasped if we place beside it the more commonly accepted and operative view of the parent-child relationship. This prevailing conventional attitude we will call, for convenient brevity, the patriarchal attitude, aware, however, that in using it as a foil we are slighting the positive virtues and survival values of its highest types.

We must recognize that this vestigial patriarchalism is under fire, especially by the young generation. Ask the brighter young people of today what they think of the educational competency of their parents. A good humored commentary of theirs on the situation is carried by the familiar caption, "Bringing Up Father." They are convinced that there is a serious lag in father's education. Mother is doing better—what with her clubs and child study classes. But even mother lags. Said a brilliant college girl to her college-bred mother, closing the discussion of a crucial difference, "It's no use our talking further, mother; we don't speak the same language." The suspicion of parental ineptitude starts even earlier. There is the legend of Marjorie, who had once again transgressed a household rule.

"Marjorie," bemoaned the mother, "How many, many times have I forbidden you to do this; and yet here you are behaving as if I had never spoken!"

To which the calm retort was, "Mother, you're a dreadful failure, aren't you?"

A less amiable expression of the disharmony is contained in the current phrase, "The Revolt of Youth."

The disharmony has a complexus of causes which I do not attempt to cover. At the risk of oversimplifying, I shall interpret it for my present purpose as the result of a clash between a lingering patriarchalism in the home and an education outside the home with which it is at variance. As Floyd Dell puts it in his book, with its misleading salesman's title, *Love in the Machine Age*, "We are trying to play the patriarchal game in a non-patriarchal world." Incidentally, we do not subscribe to all Mr. Dell's views and conclusions; but his heavily documented history of the devious ways of patriarchalism supplies an informing background.

Saving the Parent with the Child

FOR a protest against the disastrous parental incompetency of surviving patriarchalism under new conditions of living, we need go no further back than Herbert Spencer's book on education, in which he expressed astonishment that parents should dare to undertake the rearing of children with less preparation than many of them bring to the breeding of colts and calves, puppies and pigeons. There could be no gainsaying the indictment; and heed began to be paid to Spencer's advocacy of the better way pioneered by innovators like Pestalozzi. The growing demand for the protection of the child against parental maltreatment and neglect found expression in legislation, the State assuming the role of protector of the child by compelling his education—not to mention other protective measures. Then the extremists—such as Bernard Shaw—went far with Plato in advocating that children should be taken out of the parents' ruinous hands and raised by experts. Some of them insisted that the products of well conducted children's homes are on the whole superior to the average family product.

This way of deliverance from the evils of patriarchalism we must reject, I submit, for reasons which can only be glanced at. It seems to me to argue a combined emotional anemia and intellectual astigmatism which are cold and blind to the profound biological and psychical linkage of parent and offspring. Roughly, it seeks the remedy for bad parents and bad homes in no parents and no homes; which is much like holding that the cure for drunkenness is no drinking, or for profanity, no speaking.

Instead I am to plead for a parenthood grounded in a new conception of the parent-child relationship. This new type of coeducational relationship has regard not alone for the needs of the child and what the child would miss, but for the highest humanizing needs of the parent and for what the parent would miss by cutting out this chapter of his personal education and self-development. Save the child! Yes; but by saving also the parent and by insuring the proper fruits of a parental enterprise in self-culture. If we can save the parent, we can save the child. Sal-

vation is a matter of mutual giving and receiving.

The arresting fact in educational history since the date of Spencer's protest is that things have actually gone Shaw's—and Plato's—way, and with accelerating speed. The education of the child has been less and less in the parents' hands. He has lived less and less in the home; more and more in the school.

Surrendering Education to School

THE patriarch is delegating his task to the expert. First came the kindergarten; now the pre-kindergarten or nursery school takes the child almost in infancy. The school day has been lengthened by study hours and periods of supervised play. The "progressive" school collects its orphans at 8 A.M. and returns them at 6 P.M. In vacation the foundlings are boarded out in summer camps. Then comes absentee treatment during four years of college.

All of which may be and generally is better than the vacuities and fumblings of the home. I am not bringing a sweeping indictment against the parent for this delegation of education to the expert and the school. Nor am I assuming that the school is adequate or efficient. Modern conditions of living—notably a cramped apartmentism—have necessitated much of this extra-home education. But the price has to be paid; yet not as the parent is paying it—and with the parent, the child. That price is the gradual weaning of the child from parental influence and, more important, the indoctrination of the child with views that conflict with the parental attitude. Two worlds are created for him, with different methods of treatment, different standards, different motivations, different ideals and tempers. The vestigial patriarch of the home often stands out in stark contrast with the non-patriarchal ways of the school. Authority and its impositions run counter to the academic counsel to doubt, inquire and prove all things. An opaque obedience is discredited in favor of initiative, self-reliance and experimental self-expression. How shall this discord be resolved?

The Path of Coeducation

FOR brevity's sake I shall resort to an illustration; and I need not apologize for its being autobiographical. During my first summer in this country, at an Adirondack summer camp, I came across a woman seated against a pine tree reading a book with a chocolate cover. How familiar; I was fingering again the Caesar and Ovid I had sweated over in my English Grammar School days—that German edition of the ancient classics. I was right in my identification. She was reading Homer in the Greek. Expressing my surprise, she explained that she was keeping up with her boy in college; satisfying her thwarted girlhood craving for culture and her special interest in the Hellenic world. She was a fellow student with her son; and they had golden hours together. I filled out the picture. Suppose such a disadvantaged mother had begun with the boy in infancy: step by step she would have learned the lullabies and songs, the singing games and the stories her lisping child needed; the fairy story, romance and history, the nature lore, the poems called for in succeeding years; and so on. She would acquire the necessary proficiency in singing, declaiming and dramatizing. She would learn from genetic psychology the seasons appropriate to the changing diet; and the contributions of her own knowledge of human culture would be manifold. Great riches indeed!

That wise woman did not know what she had done for me; nor did I until I began to teach, first, other people's children, and then my own. It made a pupil-teacher of me. Let it suffice to say, very briefly and merely suggestively, that each return to the required texts I had to "teach"—Milton, Shakespeare, Browning—was always made with some revitalizing increment of knowledge and some refreshment of appreciation that gave new savor and zeal to my oft repeated task. I learned with my pupils and from them. As for the explorations and discoveries into which I was led later on by my parental efforts, they too were a liberal education and the key to a sound pedagogy.

The reader will pardon this bit of autobiography as a short-cut to the conclusion that the new parental coeducation, which is to deliver us from the proud patriarchalism to which we have been clinging, will be a living and progressive nurture of both children and parents as co-learners. The parent will inhabit the child's school world; follow for his own enlightenment the advances (or otherwise) made since his early days, in the mode of presentation, the textbooks, the discipline; and, more important, he will note and appraise the changes in the ideas, the customs and the morale of the school world, the social life of the young among themselves. So the young will feel that their parents share that life, not in any condescending or hypercritical or censorious spirit, but in a sympathetic spirit of camaraderie and sincere self-informing curiosity, responding and reacting to it out of their wiser maturity. The superior, dictatorial, omniscient attitude will have gone. There will be no secretiveness, no veil of tacit division, as between old-fogey parents and up-to-date children. No great revolutionary transitions in human affairs are made without some losses, for the time being at least. Some of the old

virtues are swept out with the new. So it is today with the shaken relations between old and young: the young are often jaunty; they have lost in good manners. So too in the new "progressive" education: in its reaction against repression it becomes slack and debilitating. Self-expression is stimulated before the self has been sufficiently dieted; and creativeness is

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Authority and Personality

Parents must learn to "temper justice with mercy" with due regard to their child's need for both authority and freedom.

MARION E. KENWORTHY

ONE should approach the discussion of this subject with two convictions very clearly in mind: first authority issues as related to personality development have so many significant ramifications that this brief consideration can make no pretense to cover them adequately; second, the material must be presented in terms of surface levels rather than of deeper psychological principles. For the reader who is aware of the content of the newer psychological material the mechanisms alluded to will be readily identified.

Society has long been concerned with the social manifestations of unsocial and rebellious behavior. Too frequently it was the symptomatic response of the delinquent child or the criminal adult which predetermined our method of handling him. Putting it simply, his asocial behavior made us miserable and uncomfortable and the social form of treatment, like parental handling, was frequently directed towards finding relief for ourselves. For the child who persistently rejected parental guidance, who consistently resisted the simple rules of communal living, who became a truant from school, and, in the face of parent and school authority, refused to conform, the only known resource was a more rigid authority, as vested in the correctional institution. In most cases so handled little attempt was made to understand the meaning and purpose underlying the delinquent's behavior. (Perhaps this can be more readily understood if we remember that no attempt was made to interpret the meaning of good behavior either.)

This laissez-faire attitude has become more or less obsolete. More and more we concern ourselves with the need for understanding the underlying motives in all behavior. A very strong impetus was given to our studies of the results of authoritative problems, when we compared our findings of early childhood resistance to personal parental authority with the reactions observed in older children exposed to the impersonal authority of the correctional institutions. It is now a well known fact that many children continue their asocial and aggressively destructive behavior even after leaving the school.

Surveys of the adult criminal group reveal that forty-five to fifty per cent are graduates from correctional schools designed to correct and control asocial behavior. The destructive effects of authoritative mishandling cannot be denied in such cases. How simple it would be for parental pedagogy if we could generalize at this point with a formulation suggesting that all authority is destructive! As a matter of regret, too frequently in more recent years we find parents and parent-substitutes too self-conscious and preoccupied with this very possibility.

Workers in this field know how completely impossible it is to generalize about the many factors which operate in the development of the total personality. Each individual, then, is in a relative sense a rule unto himself. In his personality development it is possible to single out only some of the constructive and destructive factors, both from within and from without, which have operated in the development of his individual adjustment.

Just as in neurotic, pre-psychotic and psychotic personality difficulties, so also in these pre-delinquent and delinquent cases, we can trace those emotional cause-and-effect relationships which have tended to produce deviations from the normal. The emotional reactions in these child-parent conflicts have been utilized by the child both consciously and unconsciously to develop responses of destructive and asocial behavior. But the purpose underlying the child's be-

havior is frequently little understood even by the adults who are involved. For that matter, most parents at the beginning of therapy have little or no insight into the underlying motivation of their own behavior. Were it possible to give this insight by elaborating on an intellectual basis of the principles involved, the problem would be simple. But the need to be either exaggeratedly authoritative or completely passive and non-authoritative is a symptom of emotional lacks within the parents themselves. To bring about changes and shifts of attitudes of any kind. a shift in feeling tones is a fundamental necessity. The approach to these necessary emotional changes varies in each case and success or lack of success is largely determined by the parents' willingness to relinquish their own patterns of behavior.

Accumulating Experience

SINCE this whole problem of the use or misuse of authority forms such an essential part of the personality structure of the growing child, it is equally important to emphasize some of the fundamental aspects of the child's development in relation to authority. This takes us back literally to the very beginning of the child's contact with reality from the moment of birth. For that matter, even the processes of getting born furnish plenty of stimuli of a more or less painful sort, which indicate to him, by sensory means of pressure and pain, some of the threats of adjustment to life. At this early age, obviously, he does not identify this experience frankly as one of authority, but it does not take many days of contact with the outside world to prove to the newborn baby the many repetitious features of his daily routine. His emotional response to these repetitions —in so far as they become at all identified with the pressure, pain, anxiety elements of birth and the experiences directly after birth—usually cause him to reflect some of the same behavior as at birth, namely crying, rage and struggling against the control of physical reality.

Out of this knowledge has come the advice given parents as to the necessity for consistency, regularity and objectivity in handling children. To achieve this ideal parents need fundamentally to recognize that the authority vested in the adult, and the consistency with which this is used in meeting the multiple issues of each day, should begin as soon as the child is born. The balance of power between the child's striving to control his environment himself and his acceptance of parental control can be established in a simple and effective way from the beginning. This statement in no way suggests a rigid disciplinary program as desirable, but implies rather the importance of parental stability which will permit simple give-and-take. Thus in his parent-relationships the child will find both the security and the elasticity which achieve without excessive conflict and struggle, a fine balance between his needs to be dependent and to become independent.

The Parental Balance of Power

IF PARENTS could only realize how simple this early program may be and yet how important for the child's future adaptation to parental advice, control and guidance! Successful authority within the home in the first few years assures the child's later acceptance of the more impersonal authority of the school, the neighborhood and the social group. As has been implied, the adult capacity for adaptation to social relationships is closely related to the habitual patterns established in this growing period.

Since we are still far from achieving this ideal parent-child relationship in so many cases, it becomes necessary to scrutinize more closely some of the emotional components in mishandled authority. The reader will recall the emphasis upon the destructiveness of excessive authority as reflected in the predelinquent and delinquent child's asocial response. As we study child guidance problems we also come upon examples of children who, instead of having suffered from over-authoritative control, have been reared in families where little or no parental authority has ever been exerted. The relative degree of this non-authoritative method seems to be largely determined by the emotional needs of the parents. Frequently, for instance, the parent who himself is a product of a rigid home finds a need for living his life again through his child, with an absence of the pain and suffering induced by excessive parental authority.

But the important point is what this exaggerated handling does to the child. Again it is necessary to remember that the child is the product of all his experiences, and in drawing this picture of personality response to inadequate parental guidance and authority, we must not be unmindful of other environmental elements. But the outstanding personality trait reflected in the behavior of such children as they grow older is an exaggerated concern and self-conscious sense of their personal responsibilities. This is reflected in their lack of initiative, absence of any real constructive aggressiveness, and other characteristics of an inadequate ego-formation. Without an adequate ego-structure it is more than difficult for the individual to achieve balance in adult reality; and we

cannot but feel that the threats of adult adjustment may in many cases lead to still more severe subjective maladaptations such as are found in some adult neurotic situations.

If we seek for an over-simplified explanation of this type of behavior response, we are confronted with the realization that such a child, through the years of his progress, because of the absence of parental aggression and authority, has not had an adequate opportunity for deflecting or ridding himself of conflicts and guilt. The result of this repeated experience is necessarily that the child absorbs his own burden of guilt, which becomes a crippling, self-impeding force, militating against the development of an adequate balance of personal independence. After studying the end-results of such parental situations, we feel concerned to observe in certain of the modern educational trends a disposition on the part of some educators to repeat in the child's school life the same kind of inadequate guidance. As a matter of fact, the presentday variety among schools, with rigid authoritative methods in some and absence of any real authority in others, offers the therapist in child guidance work a real environmental aid in the handling of cases. For the child who has too much authority in the home, the leavening of a modern school is desirable. The child who has had inadequate authoritative guidance in the home finds the more rigid school a source of real comfort.

If we survey again the child's response to a too rigid control, we see one very significant explanation for his aggressive, resistive, asocial reactions. His rejection of parental authority and acceptance of himself as his own authority are directly related to his opportunity to deflect and deny his own personal guilt and responsibility for his asocial behavior by placing the blame upon the parent who is himself guilty. The use therefore of further social authority, as vested, for instance, in the correctional institution, continues to relieve the child of conflict about his own guilt by again creating situations through which he may project his personal guilt upon his surroundings.

Ideally we wish that a fine balance of authority might be achieved in the child's whole environment. In this way, and in this way alone, lies the hope of adequate prevention.

Beginnings of Training

All-round development, even in the nursery, includes a growing sense of values.

ABIGAIL A. ELIOT

THE foundations of character building lie in the nursery. Everything a little child does and everything that happens around him has an effect on his development. Let us look especially, however, into three aspects of his life, his physical activity, his daily routine and his relations to other people.

A little child may learn to climb a jungle gym. In so doing he learns not only to control and direct the large muscles of his body but also to control and direct his mind and his emotions. Courage, perseverance and strength of will are some of the character traits called forth when a child accomplishes a difficult physical act. Recently I watched an eighteen-months-old boy learning to go downstairs. He had no fear of falling; yet it was necessary that he learn control or he would fall dangerously. Gradually the habit of cautious, controlled behavior in relation to the stairs took the place of the former precipitous, headlong rush. A lesson in character, surely! He was learning patience with his own limitations which made going downstairs a slow business when he did so want to hurry; he was learning caution, which involves a knowledge of danger and a controlled feeling of fear; he was learning perseverance in reaching the longed for goal, joy in doing the new and difficult thing, and confidence in himself. Little children are physically active nearly every waking moment of their lives, trying experiments and learning new ways of using their bodies. Every such effort unless thwarted by authority is an experience in character building.

As watchful adults what is our part in this? There are many occasions when we cannot leave the situation completely alone and allow experience alone to do the training. We cannot let a child hurl himself

downstairs through ignorance and foolhardiness and lack of control even in the process of learning the greater traits of character. Nor can we help him to learn these traits by putting a fence between him and all that is dangerous or difficult. We must find the middle ground where life and limb are reasonably protected yet where the child has access to the possibility of difficult and untried physical activity. We can stand just below him as he goes downstairs, to catch him if he falls; and we can do more than that. We can be close to him as he does this difficult and dangerous thing, helping him to feel by our word, our tone, our expression, our attitude that he should be a little afraid of stairs, but that with care he can go down them successfully by himself, and that doing so will be fun. So in all the children's physical efforts, if we are keen observers of his nature and his needs we can protect him from danger and at the same time guard and guide the development of his character.

Learning by Living

THE daily routine also holds room for character training. The three fundamental physical processes of eating, sleeping and eliminating which loom so large in the routine give opportunity for learning many important character traits. A child who goes to bed happily and stays there quietly when his mother has said good night and shut the door, who wakes in the morning regularly and joyously, and who takes his midday rest in the same way, is developing habits of control, of cooperation, of independence and of self-reliance. The child who is learning to eat without fuss or remonstrance what he is given to eat and to feed himself successfully, who stops eating when he has had enough, who goes serenely about the next activity and comes to the next meal eagerly is learning to face and conquer difficulties, and is discovering joy in self-control. The child who learns to control the processes of elimination and to take care of himself in the bathroom is developing not only physical control but also a habit of self-dependence; he is learning to be responsible for and to take care of himself; he is growing up. The same qualities are being developed when a child helps to dress and undress himself, when he plays alone in his yard or nursery without demanding constant attention, when he helps to pick up his toys and to keep his room in order, when he washes his own hands and gets himself a drink of water when he wants it.

It may help us to see the possibilities for character development in the child's routine if we consider some of the problems which arise within it. There is, for instance, the child who objects to going to bed, comes downstairs after being put to bed, demands attention in a variety of ways and gets it. There is the child who is finicky about his food, perhaps refuses to drink his milk, has a tantrum if the food he likes is not substituted for the food he dislikes, or insists upon being fed beyond the age when he can do it himself, or screams for his bottle long after he should be drinking his milk from a cup. There is the child whose habits of elimination by day or by night are irregular and uncontrolled, who does not help himself in the bathroom, who makes no effort to take responsibility in the matter. Of course, the age and maturity of the child must be taken into account when we set up standards of behavior in the routine. What is normal for a one-year-old child would not be normal for a two-year-old, and so on. But at any age we can see that unfortunate trends of character may grow out of a child's failure to meet the routine in an appropriate way for his own level of development.

Through his relationships with other people a little child is learning important character traits. How should he treat his mother? Should he slap her, kick her and pull her hair when he is a baby? Should he break her best china when he is old enough to reach it? Should he interrupt her conversation with other adults? When we teach a child not to do these things we are helping him to recognize the rights of other people. Such recognition is the first step in the development of many of the finest traits of character such as sympathy, understanding, unselfishness, generosity, kindness, courtesy, consideration. How should a little child treat other children? Should he hit them, grab their toys away, tease them? Should he let other children do these things to him without remonstrance?

A Citizen in His Own World

WHEN children learn to play together cooperatively and happily we are training them both in self-reliance and in self-subordination, in leadership and in cooperation, in standing up for their own rights and in regarding the rights of others. We are teaching them to be considerate, patient, unselfish and socially minded, yet independent, creative and courageous. Should a little child hit or kick other people, adults or children, in anger? Should he feel angry at all? Our guidance of a little child's control of his expression of anger into better and better channels is character training. It is one of the important opportunities for education in the nursery.

A little child's relations to other people involve the foundations of many other important traits, such as truthfulness, honesty, obedience to law and so forth.

A tiny child does not tell lies in the ordinary sense of the word for he has no clear understanding of the distinction between fact and fiction. Such an understanding is the foundation of truthfulness. This we can begin to teach in the early years, helping the child to a clearer and clearer distinction between what is "really real" and what is "make believe," between the thing which did happen and the thing he would like to have had happen. Early in life a child begins to understand the difference between mine and thine, and to develop a sense of ownership. If we encourage this, we are starting him on the road toward honesty. There are laws which a very little child must obey, laws of life and of the physical world. If we are wise, we can guide him on from such obedience toward obedience to social laws.

Opportunity for laying the foundation of many character traits can also be found in the child's development in the early years. Through what channels can we use it to the best advantage? By what methods shall we train a child in character? By precept? To some slight extent perhaps, but to tiny children words mean little, particularly words about abstract things like character traits. By guiding his actual behavior through suggestion, through approval and through disapproval? Yes, a very potent and psychologically effective method of teaching. But most powerful of all is the method of example. A little child absorbs like a sponge all the influences that surround him. It is useless to suggest controlling anger if we ourselves lose our tempers, it is useless to disapprove of lying and commend truthfulness if we ourselves tell lies either to the child or in his presence. To make the most of our opportunity for character training in the nursery we with whom the child lives must first of all be what we would wish him to be. Then by encouragement, by approval, by suggestion, by explanation and (when need arises) by reprimand we can hope to guide his development toward ever-increasing strength of character.

How Can Sunday Schools Affect Character?

Those who seek to guide the child's development must learn that the key to his personality is on the inside.

FRIDA DAVIDSON

THERE is a pessimistic note in the title question which is surely not intended without qualification. Perhaps we may agree that the dependence of religious institutions on their Sunday Schools has been out of proportion to accomplishment; but those of us who are convinced—and have been reconvinced in the light of today—that religious values have a real part to play in the life of each person, will be interested to examine further into the disparity between ends desired and ends achieved. Our attention should focus on the steps between, the methods employed.

The tools for religious teaching have since time immemorial been precept and example, exhortation and denunciation. Teaching in other fields has acquired new techniques; in the fields of religion and morals, education adheres to its old forms, or, at best, is still in the experimental stage. True, church education occasionally sandwiches its teachings between layers of clay modelling and dramatics to make room for experience, interest and initiative, the catchwords of the newer pedagogy. But on the whole the method of approach has been as before, *from the outside in.* Although we may agree that the day of didactic teaching and moralistic emphasis has passed, our song is still frequently keyed to the tune of approval from external authority, and the cadences of morally earnest persuasion creep in unawares.

Lessons and stories we have poured over the youngsters without knowing what they could absorb—or indeed why they would not. Instead they seemed to shut themselves hard against the finest teachings of the best of teachers, especially where there was an effort to direct behavior, to affect the personal character and life. And we have pondered and wondered whether there could not be found some way of encouraging them at least to listen without suspicion and resentment or negativism. The inoculations of religious teachings did not always take. Perhaps then they might be gotten over in another medium (as some

medicine is given in water and some in milk). Is it not possible that we have been arrested in our understanding of initiative and interest, as lying entirely in the things and activities of the child? Do they not also lie in the temper and current of his thinking? An exploration into these fields might bring back clues for a change in direction, that is, *from the inside out.*

To accomplish this, the aid of the newer psychology must be invoked. Not that any wholesale invitation for tests and questionnaires is implied; but that we cannot afford to ignore any possible help from any quarter. Our concern is to learn what goes on behind the faces of the children.

There is no magic or mystery in the newer education, in mental hygiene, beyond that it begins to take us into that mysterious realm behind the faces of the children, and to show us there, intellect and imagination intertwined with the life of emotion and desire. From earliest infancy, we are told, every happening in the life of a child has somewhere touched the emotional strings, as of a musical instrument, sometimes only stirring the overtones which die away and fade out, but at other times awakening vibrations that linger and are definitely registered. Years later, the chance revival of any part of this registered message may stir up the distant stimulus and become responsible for those seemingly unfounded likes and dislikes, preferences and prejudices, which are so unreasonably a part of the mental furniture of all of us.

Hidden Pressures

WHEN this awakened association refers to earlier pleasurable emotion we get cooperation, a good response, the child seems happy, and contributes his share in the work. But if the strings have touched on an old sore, or some forgotten unpleasurable experience, we may find inattention, unresponsiveness or violent disturbances in conduct. This is true at home, in school, with youngsters and with grown-ups; and is responsible for those expressions in conduct which are "of a character quite opposite to the motive or sentiment that prompts them." Under pressure of an unrecognized hidden push, people find themselves acting in ways surprising and unexpected to themselves; and which later they will assign to motives whose existence is entirely a self-delusion. Behavior and actions are often only the symptoms and evidences of overtones which have been stirred unbeknown to their owner. Here may be the reason why admonition often fails to make desired corrections, since it may affect the outward action for a time without touching its hidden cause. Perhaps too we can find here a clue for the needed change.

What help is suggested by the new approach? It implies at the outset that there must be understanding of the existence of unseen forces which are at the root of the more or less unhappy blocking of the best exercise of the individual's power. That the hidden sources of this obstructive energy vary widely is described in an enormous and ever-increasing literature; the almost inevitable effect, however, is that happy activity is interfered with, more or less seriously. And this interference may block all sorts of incoming influences—even those that might be of real use. The barrier is put up and every entrance, not self-invited, is challenged. The harder we push against it (as we have in Sunday School) the firmer the lock holds.

The second implication in the new approach, demanding specific treatment adapted to each individual according to his particular needs, is based on the hoped for ideal that a clearer understanding of human nature shall become a more common possession, so that the attitude toward every personality (even our own) will be shifted to the point where we naturally recognize, select and weigh what is significant and not only apparent.

Meeting the Child Halfway

WITH this concept, substitutes for old-time punishment and blame will change, becoming interactions instead of continuing as authoritative assertions. More often than not the older methods have only added to the difficulties of the original situation. What has been called disobedience, naughtiness, deliberate ignoring of instructions is often an actual inability to carry out agreements or to keep promises made. The inner blocking may withhold the individual from acting otherwise than he is doing, disturbing though that conduct may be. Nor can he usually give you the "why" for his actions. The old-fashioned method of "a serious talking-to" will not reach the obstructive cause which may rest on something very real and reasonable. Sometimes it seems that as our earnestness in getting at the child increases, his receptivity retreats; for although the barriers exist only in the intangible unseen depths of human nature, they are doors locked as firmly as any in the physical world. What is valuable in the newer angle of approach is that we now know that the latch is on the inside. It is our part to learn to teach the child to find his way out. Then he may be ready and enabled to receive the treasures we bring.

We can well afford to diminish spoken appraisals of conduct, and instead add to our equipment the unspoken recognition of knotty places behind these actions. Sometimes that may mean a strain to be

eased, sometimes misapplied energy turned into another channel instead of being stopped off. We need to do something *with* it, and not *against* it. The power that goes into trouble making or unhappiness can gradually be deflected into cheering and useful activity. It requires insight, ingenuity, patience, humor to work this out, to be easy and expansive so that others expand with us. In the way in which we respond each time, in the manner whereby we add our share of educational influence, directly and indirectly, we are giving help or hindrance in unlocking the doors of personality.

How much of this can be included in a scheme of Sunday School instruction? A somewhat unnecessary partisanship has developed, an either-or attitude between Sunday School teachers and those who have "gone psychology." That the mental hygiene approach become recognized as supplementary to, and not separate from, a religious education scheme is the suggestion here made. Then these methods will become interwoven to serve their mutual need and their specific, though converging, purposes.

But the handling of the educational material as well as the attitude toward the children should shift its emphasis to include the newer concept. Thus in telling the stories selected, we can invite a receptive mood by connecting with something in the child's nature (not necessarily in the child's world). It is here, after all, that we find the very elements responsible for the blockings we have discussed—a longing for success and affection, fear in one of its many aspects, or jealousy and competition. Condemnation of these latter has not developed wholesome states of mind. Why not accept them as normal in human nature? Then the only thing to do about them is to do something with them. Within the limits of this article, there is no opportunity to discuss these suggested techniques more fully. In general it may be said that we should retest the material we use, and its emphasis. Thus in presenting the life stories of great figures, such as Grenfell surviving on the ice field, Scott dying in his Arctic tent, St. Francis on the roadside—heroes need no longer be described as examples to be followed, but can be shown as people using themselves greatly in situations in which they find themselves, and which they can affect.

Our stories and discussions are the partial views of our larger vision of philosophy or religion. They are separate aspects singled out from the whole as appropriate to the capacity and years of the children, by which we hope to lead them slowly to grow into understanding of the eternal problem between the self and the not-self, and to measure their strength up to its solution.

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Stories With a Moral

Authorities are of many minds as to the possibility of character training through books.

JOSETTE FRANK

"SOME tales are to be told and others are not to be told to our disciples from their youth upwards, if we mean them to honor the Gods and their parents, and to value friendship with one another." Thus Plato, in Book Third of the *Republic*, expressed a fear—as well as a hope—that has probably been echoed in the hearts of parents and the thoughts of educators ever since there have been tales to tell. It is not surprising, therefore, that the literature addressed to parents contains repeated warning on the one hand, of the importance of stocking the child's reading with noble and praiseworthy ideals for him to follow, and, on the other hand, of the danger of introducing him to vicious examples in the books he reads.

In an illuminating survey of five centuries of *Children's Books in England*, F. J. Harvey Darton says, "Children's books were always the scene of a battle between instruction and amusement, between restraint and freedom, between hesitant morality and spontaneous happiness. That conflict . . . . is not yet decided."

As to how *directly* the child's character is affected by his reading, we find a wide range of opinion. At one extreme is the enthusiast who stakes out the whole field of children's reading into categories of character traits to be taken daily as prescribed. One many-

volumed set of books not only labels and indexes each of its stories for the particular virtue to be gleaned from it, but has even prepared for the earnest reader an accompanying calendar for daily inculcating the virtues:

January 21st: Today I will read about Stonewall Jackson, and
January 22nd: I will emulate him in *Obedience*
January 23rd: Today I will memorize the poem "Early" and
January 24th: I will get up *Punctually* and go to bed *Punctually*

Similarly in a little pamphlet addressed to school children, *The Key to Success*, we find under the category "judgment" this code:

"I must give careful thought to the use of my leisure time. I must not spend it in unwise reading. I must read at least one good book a month."

Here "virtue reading" is at least reduced from a daily to a monthly basis!

Most teachers of ethics are less categorical but hardly less emphatic. But there is an awareness on the part of many of them that character is not to be "taken" in literary dosage. While Edwin D. Starbuck categorizes stories for their character training potentialities in his *Guide to Books for Character*, he nevertheless takes a long-range view of the question:

"Every year brings refreshing signs in school and home that in the education of children hard necessity is giving place to creativeness and cultural appreciation, and that Duty is being transformed into Beauty. Such a consummation will strengthen and not, as the rigorists claim, soften moral fiber. Moral tastes are their own security."

Henry Neumann, writing on *Education for Moral Growth*, points out that: "Literature deals with those instances of human conduct on which most people pass judgments of approval or blame, and it does this with a beauty which heightens and reinforces whatever truth may be conveyed. It is thus an indispensable aid to clarifying the moral understanding and to touching the feelings. The characters may be never so admirable, the sentiments never so exalted; but unless the pupils are really stirred, whatever moral stimulus the poem or story can afford will fail."

The childhood recollections of many writers bear out this warning. Mark Twain, in his autobiography, recalls the Sunday School library of his own youth:

"They were pretty dreary books, for there was not a bad boy in the entire bookcase. They were *all* good boys and good girls and drearily uninteresting; but they were better society than none, and I was glad to have their company and disapprove of it."

"There is no moral value where the children feel like that," says Dr. Neumann. "On the contrary, more than once it is the dullness of the good that makes the wicked attractive."

Others, too, have seen the dangers of "pointing the moral" in children's reading. In *Literature and Life at School*, Rose Colby declares:

"Few things are more unsafe than the thrusting on children of an ethical difficulty which their own development leaves them wholly unconscious of, while it does make them see another set of ethical relations clearly and truly." We should not expect them to "understand and be able ethically to justify or condemn every act of the characters in the stories we give them, but that they shall grasp sufficiently the broad ethical outlines of the stories, and place their sympathies on the whole where they belong. And . . . . they are pretty sure to do this . . . . if only they are judiciously let alone."

Important Reservations

MANY of those who believe most in the power of literature to affect character, nevertheless recognize the limitations of its carry-over possibilities. In *Character Education*, Charles and Edith Germane affirm their belief that:

"Good reading is one great and economical source of right concepts and ideals which ought to be accessible to every child. . . . But too much must not be claimed for good reading as a direct character changing force. Children have been known to weep almost hysterically over *Black Beauty*, and yet neglect to feed, water, or treat kindly their own pony. . . . Until the story of any heroic action is translated into life, into neurone connections, and becomes a part of the moral muscles, as it were, one dare not claim too positively that it is a direct, dynamic maker or modifier of character. It is one of the fine bits of irony in life that there is no necessary connection between the state of mind, particularly in thought and emotion, produced by a piece of good literature, and *action*."

Hugh Hartshorne, writing on *Character in Human Relations*, also questions our sanguine hopes:

"Literature is usually staked out for character education, since from it we are supposed to derive ideals. We overestimate the significance of literature, however, when we imagine that its content automatically becomes our own. Indeed, too great dependence on literary modes of excitement may increase our in-

troversive tendencies, and separate us from reality."

This very quality in reading—imagination—is viewed by some as indispensable and by others as dangerous to character building. Herbert Martin in *Formative Factors in Character* suggests that literature is effective precisely because "in literature the distractions of immediacy are absent. Literature stirs the imagination without which moral conduct is impossible."

But Dr. Hartshorne views with alarm:

"The story, taken by itself, is a dangerous instrument and has probably done more harm than good when used as a means of moral education, for it has abetted the peculiar propensity of man to indulge his imagination at the expense of his conduct and has provided him with all the satisfactions of both goodness and badness without the necessity of assuming any of the obligations of either."

What of the Bad Example?

THERE remains the other side to this question of the effect of children's reading. If *good* ideals and examples in literature are thought to have a desirable influence upon character, what may be the effects of *bad* examples? There is ample evidence that many concerned with the education of children fear the harmful effects of certain influences upon the youthful mind. Aristotle demanded a law that "the young . . . . are not to be spectators at Iambi or Comedy till they reach the age when they are entitled to a place at the public tables and to take strong drink, and then their education will have given them immunity from the bad effects of such things."

We find even Lewis Carroll, that most liberal provider of fun in children's reading, expressing shocked surprise at Captain Corcoran's "damn" in *H. M. S. Pinafore.* "I cannot find words to convey to the reader the pain I felt in seeing dear children taught to utter such words to amuse ears grown callous to their ghastly meaning."

Terman and Lima, in *Children's Reading,* ask:

"How much of this juvenile crime is due to vicious reading? Those who are familiar with the police courts will tell you that no other agency, unless it is the 'movies' or association with criminal classes, is so largely responsible."

Newspaper accounts of juvenile crimes naively report, as in the case of a recent kidnapping hoax perpetrated by a ten-year-old girl, that "She said she had obtained the idea from reading detective stories."

Some, however, are more sanguine of the resistance of youth to evil suggestion. Sidonie M. Gruenberg discusses the protests against a book for boys in which the hero was shown in a lumber camp, amid drinking, fighting and other inelegancies. "A number of boys who read the book, on being asked what they thought of this, said in effect, 'reading about swearing doesn't make a fellow swear, any more than reading about praying makes him pray. Of course, if a fellow wants to swear, he might learn some new lines!' Neither conduct nor attitudes carry over so simply and directly. Moreover, we must recognize that reading about 'evil' characters may have special value for the protected child, as perhaps his only means of discovering the obscure and confused motivations that he cannot experience directly. The villain is quite as necessary for the elemental drama as the hero; and the child whose personal contacts and reading have been confined to the heroic is badly handicapped."

Another defender of youth's right to read of the "bad" along with the "good" is Ann Bridge, who writing in *The New Era,* tells of a meeting at which "a large number of people expressed the view that novels did the young more harm than good, because they were nearly always immoral and 'made them think about love and all that.'" Granting that "bad novels are as injurious as anything else bad," she asks: "But what is a bad novel? My own feeling is that a novel is good or bad in proportion to its degree of truth and faithfulness to life and human experience. I would far rather see a girl of fifteen reading *Anna Karenina* than *Beau Geste,* let alone *The Head Girl at St. Beet's.* As for 'thinking about love and all that'—can you stop them?"

Re-opening the Question

IN SURVEYING these expressions—from Plato to Lewis Carroll—we are forced to recognize that, on this question of the effect of children's reading upon their character, we are still in the realm of opinion. The White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, reporting on Children's Reading, points out our lack of certainty and suggests:

"It is reasonable to expect that in the near future many diagnostic and remedial studies of reading will be made. Such studies may help to answer the question, as yet impossible of definite answer, of the effects of children's reading. What influence has childhood reading on the character of the mature individual? In order to answer this question the evidence afforded in biographies and autobiographies. by note books, diaries, library records, and observation, will need to be studied exhaustively. The correlation of reading habits with mental characteristics and with achievements will need to be worked out. As yet the subject is almost untouched."

As of Today

A symposium, based on a renewed interest among parents, discusses direct and indirect moral instruction.

TO PARENTS "character training" is a practical—if not always clearly defined—something for which they are responsible. Since they are not professional philosophers, their interest is in children, not in theories. Yet if they are to see their part in character training more clearly, both as to its purposes and its methods, parents must find some common ground with the philosophers and with the educators, all of whom are working toward much the same goal. To give everyone interested an opportunity for mutual discussion, a meeting on "Character Training—Direct and Indirect Moral Instruction" was held during January under the auspices of the Child Study Association. Dr. Everett Dean Martin, Director of The People's Institute, as chairman, gave an historical perspective which appears in the editorial over his signature in this issue of CHILD STUDY. The other participants in the discussion were Dr. Henry Neumann, Leader of the Brooklyn Society for Ethical Culture, and Dr. Harry A. Overstreet, of The College of the City of New York, who took respectively "direct" and "indirect" character training as their points of departure, and Mrs. Cécile Pilpel, Director of Study Groups, who brought into the discussion actual situations and procedures for working them out.

One of the reasons why parents seem to have more questions in their minds about character training than they used to have—and fewer answers—is that they are no longer so sure as they once were about character itself. In times when social or religious ideals have a strong hold over the everyday affairs of life, it has been taken for granted that the demands of "good character" mean simply that human beings "live up to" certain external standards. Whatever may be the obvious disadvantages of adhering to the letter of some code, such a system has the practical advantage of being concrete and objective. The traditional Roman code of honor may have next to nothing in common with medieval chivalry but each was an infallible yardstick in its own time.

What then is character? In its stark and unadorned root meaning it is nothing more than "a distinctive mark or personal feature" and its derivation goes back to a vivid figure of speech in the Greek word "to furrow, scratch or engrave." Today, unless we add a specific modifier as a "bad" character the word has come through use to imply, however vaguely, a personality that is strong, noble and good. But it is another matter to define more clearly the qualities which go into the making of such a personality.

Professor Overstreet suggests some of the things which character is *not*—it is not mean; it is not muddled; it is not mediocre. As against these negative qualities of a low grade personality he sets three positive qualities of character—it has generosity; it has intellectual clarity; it has some great devotion to what seems worthy of effort and sacrifice.

At this point parents might well ask what, granting that they accept the analysis, they are to do in such familiar situations as those presented by Mrs. Pilpel. Here is, for instance, a child of five, who in a superior tone of voice, reproves his three-year-old brother for crying and fussing when he hurts himself, saying "Look at me, I don't ever make a fuss when I fall."

The mother knows that, much as he may claim to, he really does not practice all the virtue he preaches about not being a cry-baby. Shall she respect his good intentions—or punish him for "not telling the truth?" Shall she pin her faith to the "direct" moral instruction of word and precept or to the "indirect" moral instruction of example and environment?

If direct character training means "fifteen minutes a day," if it implies learning the words but not the tune, it is, as Dr. Neumann points out, no more than a travesty. Getting a high sounding vocabulary never taught any child how to live a certain kind of life. But if, he continues, direct character training means the conscious effort to foster in children the moral intelligence which all normal human beings possess, then it still has its place in the parental scheme.

And this mother herself realizes that this is really the very thing she has been trying to do. She has not put the emphasis on the child's "lie" but she has taken the occasion to talk over with both children the goal —of being a good sport—to which both are trying to live up. She has explained that of course the five-

year-old may be better at living up to it than the three, but that they have both had their victories. And she has left them with the feeling that she knows they are both sometime soon going to come still nearer to that goal of "not making a fuss over little things." She has not made an "issue" of truth as against untruth—but neither has she chosen to let it go or taken refuge in faith that "he'll just grow out of it."

Facing the Issue Together

WHERE the child is ready for distinctions, the point at issue, no matter how simple, has to be met directly. A father, watching a game of croquet from the window of his room, sees his little girl, aged seven, surreptitiously push her ball with her foot to a position of advantage. Though her playmates are not aware of what she had done and it is possible for him to ignore the whole thing, he feels that it is his duty to impress her with the obligation of playing fair.

A seven-year-old understands the rules of the game and this child knows that she is violating these rules for personal advantage. It is not too much for her to suffer the humiliation of being found out by her father, provided he tempers his judgment with sympathetic understanding of her delinquency. But this is not enough; she needs both to be told, and then to find by experience, that acquiring skill in the game is a surer way of finding pleasure than cheating, since it will enable her to win both the game and also a wholesome relationship with her playfellows.

But what, someone asks, if she is not likely ever to acquire enough skill to win?

She may still be shown that winning through to a happy relationship with the others who are playing is of equal, if not of greater, value than the winning of that particular game itself. Meantime she can be helped to find some other game or activity in which she in her turn can excel.

Perhaps the trouble with most direct moral training is that the words have been left to vanish into thin air, instead of being translated into activity as they were by this practical father. He helped her play a fair, if losing, game of croquet and then started a simpler game that was more within her powers. Character is not influenced by precept unless it is backed up by contact and experience. And it is at home and school that contacts are first made. There parents and their children are constantly meeting and making situations which challenge them to do the best they may. Take, for instance, two other stories which were brought up during the evening's discussion.

Playing with his ball in the living room (a thing which he had been forbidden to do) a nine-year-old boy broke a valued vase. The maid was accused of the breakage. This she denied, but the boy volunteered no information, until his little sister told.

A false accusation looms large to a conscientious adult fully aware of what is involved. The first reaction of most parents when confronted with such a situation is likely to be one of fear of what such a serious wrong doing on the part of their child may lead to. The result is that the parents vent their emotion by heaping blame on the head of the child and stressing the heinousness of such behavior.

A more objective viewing will show that this is not a simple situation but represents rather a chain of events, which robs the direct approach of punishment of any value it might be intended to have. What are the things that really happened? First, the child violated a rule by playing in the living room; second, he did not speak up when the maid was accused; third, (and this is of primary importance) it was extremely difficult for this child to tell of what had happened. Here is the crux of this particular problem. Why couldn't the child tell?

Going Beyond the Facts

MANY a nine-year-old with a ball forgets where he is, whether that spot is forbidden or not. Most nine-year-olds are capable of owning up when damage results, without too much fear of the parents' displeasure. It is the insecure child who shrinks from reporting the facts. In these cases, then, the parents' first responsibility is to help the child to greater security rather than to come down on him with a moral code. The first approach would be a calm talking over of the chain of events—from the simple dangers which prohibit indoor ball play to the complex consequences of the false accusation against the maid. The training of such a child involves a certain amount of re-education, a review on the part of the parent of his own procedures, and an effort to help the child feel more secure in the parent's affection and understanding. It is only on the basis of this security that moral training can have any meaning.

In another case the "ethics of the market-place" were transferred to a school with results which were confusing to the adults as well as to their sons. There was need for advancing the prices for food in the high school cafeteria. It was decided to make the adjustment by selling the lunchroom tickets for seven cents each instead of five. Two of the boys, learning of the impending change, invested all the money they had in the school's five-cent tickets, which they subse-

(*Continued on page* 178)

Parents' Questions and Discussion

These pages, based on the foregoing articles, are presented for the use of individuals or of groups having this topic on their regular programs. Questions and discussion are taken from study group records.

STUDY GROUP DEPARTMENT

CÉCILE PILPEL, Director — JOSETTE FRANK, Editor

Is it necessary, in order to develop considerateness, to begin in early childhood?

Considerateness depends upon an awareness of situations and other people's feelings. This pre-supposes a certain degree of maturity, it is true; yet the beginnings of such understanding can be cultivated quite young. At three, or perhaps before that, a child can appreciate that at certain times and in certain places one does not do certain otherwise permissible things out of consideration for other people; that certain things are not permissible at any time for the same reasons; also that certain courtesies are indicated on occasion—such as giving one's chair to an older person. Thus we may begin quite early in the child's life to teach considerateness, through combined precept and example. We must guard, however, against expecting, or even permitting, consideration for others to be a dominant motivation in the young child—perhaps even in the older child.

A child may find this an easy way to win adult approval; perhaps a too easy way to discharge his guilt feelings. We must guard against stressing this virtue out of all proportion; for consideration also implies considering oneself. Also, in asking children to forego natural pleasures out of consideration for others we have to be very sure that we are providing times and places where these legitimate needs or interests may find satisfactory expression.

Should children be required to help with housework (in the interest of training for responsibility) in a household well staffed with servants?

This aspect of modern living does present a challenge to character training and education. There is no point in asking children to do chores which obviously would otherwise be done by persons paid for this purpose. The value of such work, educationally, lies in the cooperative effort, in taking a responsible part in the common enterprise of living together. Where the adults of the household normally take responsibility for part of the chores, the children can certainly be expected to take over some part of them. Or at times when there is an unusual drain upon the servants, as when one of them is ill or away, or when some special party or function is planned beyond what is normally managed by the household, the children may be expected to share the burden of extra work. But if such experience is to have value as training, it must be truly a *sharing*.

When a girl of eight takes her mother to task for being untruthful in her social contacts, how may the mother explain the situation so as not to undermine the child's belief in right conduct?

If the untruth is told because the mother wishes to spare the feelings of the person involved, her explanation will be one that a child can appreciate. If the untruth is told for her personal advantage or to the disadvantage of the other person, to ingratiate herself or to avoid effort or strain, she will have to realize that the child *will* be affected unwholesomely by this conflicting behavior.

How can we make children in the family unselfish toward each other and willing to share possessions as well as responsibilities?

The quality of unselfishness is compounded of a number of emotions and attitudes which people develop in social living. Since such human traits are not inborn, we must see unselfishness as distinctly an acquired virtue, one to be learned. What appears as "unselfishness" in young children is some-

times merely a way of meeting the expectations of adults, or perhaps of winning praise or attention, or in some way compensating for dissatisfactions. As the child grows older, however, he experiences the give-and-take of social relationships. If, in the process of his adaptation to socialized living, he finds himself dealt with fairly, the child will eventually be willing to give up certain native desires for self-satisfaction, in the interest of social approval. When he does not feel challenged constantly to defend his rights, or to fight for a place of security in the family, he will be able to share what he has with others without fear, and to balance privilege with responsibility.

What can be done with a boy of nine who always puts off or evades tasks required of him?

We have to expect that a nine-year-old will find many things more engrossing than the tasks imposed upon him by our grown-up world. At the same time we also have to help him progressively to take these responsibilities. The tasks which we demand of him must bear some relation to his own felt needs and level of understanding. His responsibility for the simple, reasonable care of his own things, for cooperation in family "chores," for attention to his homework—all these he should be able to understand and gradually to accept. At nine he will still need some remindings, for the distractions are many. But reminding need not be nagging, and it must take account of what he is doing at the moment, of what his own plans of work and play may be, and of his particular tempo. If, with all these things considered, he is still unable to meet responsibilities on a level of maturity suitable to his age, then one must both examine his environment for other factors, and also look for possible difficulties in his physical and emotional life which might be contributing to his inability to meet the demands of normal maturing.

In this age of diminishing authority how can we teach children respect for parents?

Respect, understood as a genuine sentiment rather than a type of formal observance, is only possible "where respect is due." The old authoritarianism demanded respect for parents, not necessarily as people worthy of respect, but rather as the personification of law. The newer parental authority derives from an understanding and sympathetic relationship between parent and child. The child learns to respect the parent for valid qualities of character and conduct. For instance, he learns early in childhood that the parent's word may be relied upon. He learns that the parent's commands are founded not on a love of power or need for self-satisfaction but rather on a carefully considered attention to the child's well-being. As the child grows older he may even come to disagree with some of the parent's views and concepts, but can continue to respect his sincerity and purpose.

Respect cannot be taught; it grows out of living together. Genuine respect has in it, too, an element of mutuality.

How shall we explain the ethics of the "Boston Tea Party," to a girl of ten who, learning this story as a patriotic achievement in American history, said: "But weren't they really stealing tea that didn't belong to them?"

We have to begin by admitting that the "Boston Tea Party" was neither legal nor ethical. This opens up, then, an excellent opportunity to give the child a sense of values, and some understanding of abstract ethics and social justice. She can be shown what was involved in that particular situation: the oppression of one group by a stronger group in power; the attempts made by the oppressed to get justice and their despair of winning fair treatment from the oppressors; the cumulative effect of the mob spirit, wherein the ownership of the "tea" became insignificant as compared with the deeper principle involved.

It is rather surprising that a child of ten should even remember the question of ownership of the tea in the dramatic unfolding of that story. The fact that she did raises the question whether there may not be an over-concern with "sins" of that type, and possibly points to unresolved guilt feelings in hĕrself which it might be wise to help her resolve. On the other hand it may also be that she has a very sound—and somewhat precocious—feeling about the rightness and wrongness of things.

When children are beginning to think in terms of right and wrong conduct how can we protect them from the disillusioning effects of sensational newspaper accounts of unsocial behavior?

Nothing is to be gained by keeping children in ignorance of the weaknesses of humankind. There is perhaps greater safety in knowledge, especially where it can take a proportionate place in the child's life. The child who is not yet mature enough to understand the passions and motivations represented in the news, will probably not be deeply affected by the moral aspects involved. What he finds in the newspapers will be simply drama and swift action. As he grows older he will project what

he reads against his own developing picture of life, weighing it in terms of his growing sense of right and wrong. Here the home must serve as interpreter, helping him to an understanding of varying standards and ideals and of human differences—weaknesses as well as strengths.

A group of fourteen-year-olds are beginning to play cards for money. The mother of one of the boys, disapproving of this kind of play, is nevertheless afraid that her boy will lose his friends if he does not "play their game." What can she do?

What is the basis of her disapproval of his playing for money? Is it a question of morality? Is it a fear that he will find this a too easy way of getting money? Or that he will find himself losing beyond his means and resort to undesirable ways of getting money to meet his losses? If the child has these weaknesses they would already have shown themselves in other ways, and would demand attention even though playing for money were not involved. If, however, the boy is stable, and has the maturity commensurate with his age, one might safely let him find out for himself, whether "the game is worth the candle." One might also discuss the whole matter with him, pointing out what may be involved in playing for money among young people who cannot afford to lose: that some of the group, less stable than he, might be unfortunately influenced by losses or by the fear of losing. He might be interested, and able to interest others of the group, in a safer way of playing games than this one which is so likely to involve someone in difficulties.

If, however, it is the actual loss of money involved that is troubling the mother, this will be likely to take care of itself if the boy finds that his allowance cannot stand the strain and that no outside help is available.

STUDY MATERIAL: CHARACTER TRAINING

TOPICAL OUTLINE

1. EARLY CHARACTER TRAINING DEPENDS UPON
   - Understanding of child's needs and drives
   - Learning through activity rather than precept
   - Satisfaction resulting from practice of good habits
   - Reconditioning of undesirable habits
2. PHYSICAL BASIS OF CHARACTER
   - Relation between character and intelligence
   - Endocrine basis of personality
   - Physical defect and physical weakness
3. CHARACTER THROUGH EXAMPLE
   - Example of people in child's environment: parents, teachers, friends
   - Heroic characters in history and literature
   - Effect of inspirational reading
   - Hero worship of living persons
4. DIRECT MORAL INSTRUCTION AS CARRIED OUT
   - At home
   - In schools
   - Through religious organizations
   - By "character building agencies"

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. A three-year-old child, walking with his mother, took an apple from a store. What are the implications regarding his character? What procedure is indicated?

2. Family A is prepared to make great sacrifices to enable their boys of 10 and 13 to attend a private school because of the associations. Family B feels that if their home provides friends, books and the daily example of hard working, fine characters, that the school and neighborhood matter very little. Discuss.

3. Would you censor the reading of a child of 10, of 14, of 16? On what basis?

4. Is character unalterably fixed in early childhood? Discuss the familiar statement of the Jesuits —"Give me the child until he is seven and I care not who has him thereafter."

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By H. S. Dimock and C. E. Hendry. *Association Press.* 364 pp. 1929

The Development of Character Traits in Young Children
By Amelia McLester. *Charles Scribner's Sons.* 126 pp. 1931

Lives in the Making
By Henry Neumann. *D. Appleton and Co.* 370 pp. 1932

The Department of Superintendence 10th Yearbook—Character Education
Published by The Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association of the United States, Washington, D. C. 535 pp. 1932

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Ed. by Dorothy Canfield Fisher and Sidonie M. Gruenberg. *The Viking Press.* 384 pp. 1932

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Ed. by Jay B. Nash. *A. S. Barnes & Co.* 1932

* *See also Book Reviews, page 175.*

Book Reviews

Current Discussions of Character

Responsibility: Its Development through Punishment and Reward. By Laurence Sears. Columbia University Press. 198 pp. 1932.

What are the motives which philosophers of the last century and of our own have invoked as incentives to make a child or a man behave socially? In attempting to answer this opening query, Mr. Sears presents an unusually interesting and valuable survey of the attitudes toward praise and blame and toward various punishments and rewards which have been discussed by thinkers on ethics from Bentham to Dewey. Mr. Sears outlines many viewpoints including those of the utilitarians, Bentham, Wiel and Bain, who make happiness the moral criterion; of Westermarck, who justifies praise and blame genetically; and of Green and Bradley, the idealists, who bestow praise and blame according as man is, or is not, true to the universal self of which his own ego is but a part; and finally of Dewey, who for the first time insists on recognizing "the obscure and usually the unavowed forces" which are back of behavior, pleasant or unpleasant.

In the second section of his book, Mr. Sears gives case studies of twelve children who either would not or could not meet the responsibility imposed on them by home and school. He shows how, by changing environmental and emotional factors, these children were helped to develop a sense of responsibility and of social living.

In the third section he asks: What, in the light of this empirical data, is the value of the theories outlined in section one? Is punishment effective? Does it reform the individual? Most punishment, he answers, is ineffective. But punishment, detached from blame and emotionalism on the part of the punisher, punishment which "fits the crime" so that the individual realizes that it is he himself who by his original act has brought discomfort upon himself —that sort of punishment may well be effective. There follows an excellent chapter on encouragement which, the author points out, is meaningless apart from affection. "Any theory of moral control which hopes to influence children's lives must take these two human needs into account." It must also give equal consideration to environment; since, the author concludes, "morals are a function of environment," and "moral problems not conceived as social problems make for an essentially sterile theory of ethics."

Finally he places intelligence as the keystone of the arch of freedom. Freedom through intelligent choice creates the habit of responsibility. And this holds true not only for children but for parents as well. If parents are intellectually and emotionally able to face the psychological and social implications of situations involving them and their children, they will be better equipped to control their own unreasoned resentments and to work, through examination of individual and environmental factors, toward harmony.

R. L.

The Moral Judgment of the Child. By Jean Piaget. Harcourt, Brace and Co. 418 pp. 1932.

What is character? Is it developed or is it inborn? How are correct moral judgments determined? Can the ability to make correct moral judgments be taught? These are a few of the provocative questions raised by Piaget's scholarly and profound work. *The Moral Judgment of the Child* is both a scientific investigation and a philosophic discussion. Data concerning the questionnaires used in the study, an unusual vocabulary, the presentation of all the philosophic aspects of the question make this book, particularly in translation, slow reading. When these hurdles are passed, however, a field rich in thought rewards the reader.

The book contains a study of children's reactions to rules in a game of marbles and to a variety of moral situations presented verbally. The tabulated results show a definite tendency. Children under five have little comprehension of rules in a game. They progress to a stage in which they are conscious of rules. Though aware of rules, they obey them only if they must. They go on to a stage where they make their own rules, and because these have meaning to them they obey them. Similarly in the moral situations presented verbally, it is shown that young children accept laws because they must. They are moral realists, following the letter of the law, if enforced. As they develop they tend to observe the spirit of the law in so far as they understand its value. Children are shown to hold at one and the same time

the former attitude towards the commands of adults, and the latter towards the rules of their confreres.

From these results Piaget infers that the moral code of children is not a simple thing; it has at least a dual aspect. It consists of one code in which the child regards himself an inferior and must yield to the rules of adult authority and another code in which he regards himself as an equal and accepts the principles of the group because he recognizes their value. These different stages of moral development exist at the same time in a child. The final goal for human personality is much more like the child's acceptance of the rules of his own group than it is like his attitude toward adult authority. Mutual respect and cooperation are obviously the goals towards which children should tend. The child should ideally progress from yielding to duty because it is necessary to accepting the good because it is wise. "Logic is the morality of reason, just as morality is the logic of action," says Piaget. He frankly admits that he cannot say whether the cooperative stage is dependent on the earlier stage of respect for authority. All that he is willing to say is that cooperation develops after the stage of acquiescence to authority, though both phases may and usually do co-exist for a while.

Piaget does not discuss the possible influence of inheritance upon character but rather treats the problem as if the child's relationship to society were the only factor in the development of moral judgments. He advocates the democratic organization of the classroom rather than the superior-inferior relationship of teacher and pupil. He believes that educational experiment is the best means of proving whether "that cooperation in the play and spontaneous social life of children (that) brings about certain moral effects can be universally applied as a method of instruction."

He believes that a teacher should be both a "comrade and adult-collaborator." But here the reader is very likely to make a distinction which the author apparently passes over without question. Is there not a vast difference between a comrade and an adult collaborator? If children evolve greater moral integrity when left to themselves, would it not be logical to assume that the injection of an adult-collaborator will hinder their development? But are not leadership and authority essential in progressing to the highest integrity through loyalty—at first to one's parents, then to a social group and then to ever wider and wider loyalties, until as Royce says, "there is a loyalty to loyalty?" There will be many who will feel that Piaget's admission of the adult, even in passing, is the strongest argument—particularly as it comes from him—in favor of enlightened authority. Although Piaget is justly critical of much of the authority to which children have been subjected, his own findings lead to the conclusion that both cooperation and leadership are necessary in developing the child's moral judgment. But the responsibility of leadership assumes for the adult a new and deeper significance—that leaders should be good and authority should be right.

C. F. B.

Character in Human Relations. By Hugh Hartshorne. Charles Scribner's Sons. 367 pp. 1932.

In this single volume Dr. Hartshorne has brought together a variety of descriptions and discussions which shows how inextricably character training is woven into every phase of the child's experience. In the first section which surveys "The Present Situation" the author first outlines types of character training now in use and then analyzes existing organizations engaged in this type of education. Chapter II, on types of training, gives a helpful picture of tradition and current practice through such means as discipline, ordeal and vigil, ceremony, the story, law, exhortation, play, counselling and mental hygiene, propaganda, discussion, practice and participation. The brief but comprehensive statements, regarding independent societies and school programs, in chapters III-VII contain a surprising amount of interesting information about the various attempts, many of them apparently waste motion, to shape the characters of young Americans.

"Theories of character" as developed by various schools of philosophy and psychology are treated in much the same critical and descriptive way in the second section. All the familar, and some less familiar, concepts of character—as based on "traits," "habits," "patterns," "factors" or "the self"—are marshalled in logical order which will be helpful to anyone wishing to make a general survey of what philosophy and science have so far contributed to this perennially engrossing subject.

In the latter half of the book Dr. Hartshorne builds up, on this historical basis, his own concept of character and of its training, particularly in relation to the school. The theories, and the various tests and studies upon which Dr. Hartshorne's thesis is based, are too technical to admit of condensation—a fact which may also lay the book open to the much more serious criticism of putting difficulties in the way of the readers who turn to it for practical guidance.

The main points of his theory are that character is "determined more by the circumstances that attend the situation than by any mysterious entity residing within the child. Three things determine whether,

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News and Notes

Education and the Social Order

AN outstanding event of the year will take place in Chicago on March 2, 3 and 4 when the Progressive Education Association and the Chicago Association for Child Study and Parent Education will hold a joint conference on "Educational Implications of the Changing Social Order." Teachers and school executives are being called upon to exert a more vigorous leadership in schools and communities, as well as to face honestly and sincerely the social and economic crisis which is seriously affecting the program of the schools; this conference will aid them in clarifying some of the issues they are called upon to face. Speakers will include John Dewey, William H. Kilpatrick, George Counts, Harold Rugg, Burton Fowler, in addition to Chicago's prominent leaders in progressive education.

Of special interest to parents and teachers are the meetings on "The Role of the Family in the Present Social Order" and "Newer Concepts in the Relation of the Family, School and Community" to be held on Thursday, March 2, at 3:00 P. M.

A Service for Everyday Problems

During the last five years nearly four hundred parents have brought their questions and problems to the Consultation Service, maintained by the Child Study Association. This service, which is open to all members of the Association, is under the direction of a psychiatrist whose experience with parents as well as with children forms a background for a somewhat unique department. Contact is with the parents themselves rather than with the children and only problems which can be met in this way are considered. Several types of service are offered—intensive studies which include frequent consultations over a long period of time; briefer consultations on questions which can be handled in one or two conferences; a "referral" service which puts the parent in touch with other organizations which give special advice and care. With its emphasis on the educational rather than the psychiatric aspect of its work and with its close contact with parent education as a whole, the Consultation Service has a constructive approach which is being increasingly helpful to a growing number of parents. Appointments may be made at any time by phone or in person at Child Study Association Headquarters, 221 West 57 Street, New York.

Advice on City Living

Rapidly changing social and economic conditions are making it increasingly difficult in New York City to work out satisfactory ways of living both within the family and in the community. Many individuals do not know of the information and services already available which might help them in making more rapid adjustment to modern city life.

In order to study the adequacy of these existing services and to make them more readily available, the Child Development Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University, is offering the services of a Family Consultation Bureau. This Bureau is non-profit-making and is staffed by a group of specialists who will be available for consultation on problems of everyday life, such as: Family Health, House Management, Child Guidance, Family Relations, Legal Matters, Family Finance.

This service is being developed for the use of all staff members of Columbia University and the families of the children in Horace Mann School, Lincoln School and the nursery groups of the Child Development Institute. There will be no fees for any of the services. Individuals may avail themselves of as few or as many of the services as they wish.

What Is the Matter with Mary Jane?

At the recent opening of the Enoch Pratt Free Library building in Baltimore, the Child Study Association decorated one of the display windows to illustrate the purpose of study groups. A picturization of a behavior situation as expressed in A. A. Milne's poem, "What Is the Matter with Mary Jane?" was chosen. Dolls were used to represent Mary Jane kicking her heels at the rice pudding, and the perplexed adult looking on. A poster at the back of the window gave the poem, and beneath it, the statement that the Child Study Association, through its group meetings, helps parents to interpret the conduct of their children.

Later in the season a similar window will be ar-

ranged to illustrate the work of the Music Committee. The exhibit will include among other things, early musical instruments.

Parent Education in Oklahoma City

The Oklahoma Council of Child Development and Parent Education held its annual meeting on February 17 and 18 at Oklahoma City. Medical service and public health were discussed at several sessions; but the major part of the program was devoted to a consideration of the family and parent education in view of presentday conditions. Flora M. Thurston and Eduard C. Lindeman, both of the National Council of Parent Education, were the principal speakers.

Health in Relation to Personality

What is there about a birthmark to affect the behavior of a child? Why do protruding teeth frequently give the sufferer more serious concern than an acute case of appendicitis? How can we best help the convalescent to regain a normal outlook? These questions and many others were discussed by Dr. Ira S. Wile and Dr. James S. Plant at a meeting on "Health in Relation to Personality" held by the Child Study Association on January 31.

While health and personality are necessarily closely related, the speakers agreed that perfect health by no means assures an adjusted personality. Ruddy cheeks, sparkling eyes, an abundance of physical energy may go hand in hand with infantile behavior, maladjustment and emotional instability. At the same time it is not uncommon to find an individual suffering from blindness or some other equally devastating affliction, and yet possessing a mature, well-rounded character. Illness, Dr. Wile concluded, does not affect the personality unless man's inner consciousness has been affected. Dr. Plant, who has done much work with juvenile delinquents, finds that if health enters the problem it usually follows one of three patterns: The physical difficulty limits the child's activities as, for instance, in heart cases where the child cannot let off steam in vigorous play. Or the difficulty sets the child apart from his playmates, as when some mark or peculiarity brands him as "different." Or the child is too health-conscious, as frequently happens when parents have continued to overprotect a child frail in infancy.

The parent in each case is faced with an extremely difficult problem which he himself must learn to meet objectively before he can be of much real help to the child. Whether his task is to substitute outlets for energy, or to overcome the sensitiveness that goes with peculiarities of appearance, or to steer the over-careful child toward a more wholesome outlook, he must first be master of himself. There is no alchemy in words and no parent can expect to foster a constructive attitude in the child if his own feeling remains one of chronic anxiety and pity.

As of Today

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quently sold to their comrades at six cents each. They made a profit of 20 per cent, and their companions also saved money. The boys made no secret of this transaction, and were in fact frankly proud of their business acumen.

Some of the parents were puzzled as to just what was involved, since it resembled very much the generally accepted business practices of adults engaged in trade, and taking advantage of advance information. It was possible, however, to point out to these high school students that they were violating the ethics of their immediate world; that the school was not the business world.

Professor Overstreet suggests that our own generation is acutely aware of fallacies and even of failure because in our youth we were offered so much undigested verbalism. "Love thy neighbor as thyself" has never been taught more vehemently than in our own childhood; but the phrases of the Sunday School have not seemed to take root, as the state of present-day affairs is sorry evidence. In proportion as we emphasize the necessity of contact with first-rate daily living, we are forced to recognize the complexities of character building. For where, in a world whose actions speak louder than its words, are boys and girls to be exposed to first-rate living?

Perhaps the fundamental trouble lies in each generation's eagerness to bring its children up to think the world is better than it really is. Looking back we can see that the lip service of our own childhood training did not wear very well; but can we see as clearly that all our present struggles for an "ideal" environment at home and school may wear no better?

We have talked so much of "adjusting" the child to his environment that we do not always leave the individual room to value true distinction. Living with one's fellow men, as Dr. Neumann reminds us, is not simply a matter of sinking to a dead level of mediocrity. It also implies the obligation to know when the group needs leavening with standards worthier than its lowest common denominator. There is still a place in the world for the exercise of "old-fashioned" moral judgment. Men still have to choose for themselves between what is right and what is wrong.

Book Reviews

(*Continued from page* 176)

in any situation, a child cheats, or exhibits self-control, or is charitable, or is persistent: (1) the nature of the situation, (2) what the child has already learned in similar situations, and (3) his awareness of the implications of his behavior. Of these three factors, our data show the first to be by far the most potent in average children today. It is our conviction that cheating, lying, and stealing are mainly products of unfortunate situations."

The implications of this theory for education are so far-reaching that the author carries them on in a chapter on "The World and the Individual" before he returns to the school itself. He concludes that "Our problem is how to arrange the situations in which a child grows up in such a way as to permit him to function with increasing completeness in the life of the world. We have noted that character is a way of behaving which takes into consideration the far-reaching implications and consequences of action, deriving joy and confidence from successful and meaningful participation in all the relationships of life."

Z. C. F.

Children's Books

Dauntless Liberator. By Phyllis Marschall and John Crane. The Century Co. 306 pp. 1933. $2.50.

This is a timely and scholarly biography of Bolivar, the great Colombian patriot and liberator. There are two phases of the book that carry it to success—the first a vivid picture of the hero's childhood spent in Caracas and on the rancho in Venezuela; the second an equally vivid picture of his youth in Spain amid the intrigue of the Spanish court, and the charming and tragic romance of his marriage.

The last part of the book—that dealing with the campaigns of the revolution that he headed—is too long. Furthermore this part seems oddly detached and is far less vividly portrayed than the earlier incidents. The tragedy of Bolivar's last years, his desertion by all but a few friends, his sense of failure in his great undertaking, the postponement of his fame and glory until after his death—all these poignant phases of his life are but lightly touched upon.

In spite of these lacks, however, the book, as a whole, is a fine piece of work and well worth reading.

H. H. S.

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The Coeducation of Parents and Children

PERCIVAL CHUBB

(*Continued from page* 161)

inflated before there is stuff to use or clues to follow. Thus we must not contrast patriarchalism as something that was all wrong with a new parentalism which is all right. Can we put a finger on the crucial distinction between the old attitude and the new? The key is in the word imposition. If we go behind Herbert Spencer to one of his progenitors, John Locke, we shall come upon this still surviving root idea of patriarchal education. For Locke's familiar conception of the child was centered—to speak rather sweepingly—in the idea of receptivity and reproduction. The child was likened to a blank sheet of paper upon which parent and teacher were to inscribe the precepts and knowledge deemed good for his guidance. The child was a patient registering receptacle. Modern education rejects this concept. For the idea of the clean waiting slate it substitutes the dynamic idea of a growing organism, unfolding like a plant or tree from seed and shoot—a potential, emergent life-force of urges and hungers. This genetic conception has meant the discovery of the child as distinguished from the mannikin.

Education, therefore, is no longer a matter of imposition but of nurture—fertilization, irrigation, aeration; and this nurture means primarily a dietary not merely of sound knowledge but, even more, and for the parent especially, of contagious and formative exemplification. And that is why the parents' capital resource must be the constraining behavior of their own personality. They, no less than their child, are learning—and teaching—by doing. Would the father have his children strict and self-controlled? He must be strict with himself in trying to discover and obey the laws of life. In short he must ask nothing of his children which in essentials he is not asking of himself. Life must be evoked by life; by the spirit of it; the living and active spirit of truthfulness and consistency; the spirit of respect and reverence for one's fellows and their noblest deeds and achievements. "The first sign of a masterful intelligence," said Ruskin, "is that it knows from whom to learn." The parent must try to qualify for the honor.

What we call vestigial patriarchalism is still haunted by this repudiated idea of imposition, with its corollaries of authority and command, submission and obedience, the rod always ready at hand for enforcement. How many examples we might cite from personal experience! It is still blind to the fact that the high virtues cannot be commanded, but only a formal assent and compliant gesture. Again, let an illustration serve. Typical of the patriarchal manner is the old commandment, "Honor thy father and thy mother." It is of course desirable that the child should do so; but the parents must make it possible. Honor cannot be commanded any more than admiration or love can be. "None ever loved because he ought." Profoundly true; the soul of the matter. To be genuinely honored a man must be attractively and persuasively honorable; as to be admired or loved, he must be admirable and lovable. Let us rewrite the commandment: "Parents, strive to be worthy of the honor of your children." "Nine-tenths of patriarchal education was the instilling of respect," says Mr. Dell. But parents only win respect by being respectable.

Ultimates

Push any inquiry far enough and you come upon the ultimate principles of life and living. Patriarchalism, which has survived because it has time and again been mitigated by the rebellious heart, and has reversed itself, is in essence the expression of the rule of selfish might and the will to power. Its principle is force; the force that has flouted right and reason, to win only temporary triumph. Religion has employed it, and has stained its annals with persecution and cruelty and war and massacre, as if belief could be compelled! The world is slowly moving to the conviction that force is no remedy. And education at last perceives that thought and feeling cannot be forced or imposed at the word; and it heralds the persuasion that force has failed tragically and must fail as a basis for the conduct of rational life. Education is a spiritual process, based on the principle that "life develops from within"—within the parent and within the child.

This carries with it another basic point; that education is not a means to something else, but is the very purpose of life itself. Therefore we must divest the word education of the meaning it has had under patriarchalism, as when it is asked, "Where were you educated?"—as if education were a finishing process, instead of a lifelong development through all the agencies and interests of life.

And so we strike down to the ultimate truth, that life itself is for education and that education is life. Really to have lived and be alive is to be able to die with Goethe's last cry upon the lips, "Light! more light!" and to have it said of one, as was said of the Venerable Bede, "He died learning." The parent pupil-teacher will see in his or her child a fellow pupil-teacher through whom he will draw ever nearer to the fontal meanings of Man and Nature and Human

Life. Finally we come to another primal truth, voiced out of the mouth of antique patriarchalism, which of course could never utterly stifle the tenderness of parental instinct by the rigors of authority: "Out of the heart are the issues of life." Here is a survival value.

The Spirit of the Thing

DESPITE one sided intellectualism, it becomes clear that children will be what they will be by virtue of the objects and quality of the heart's desires, and the spells to which the heart responds: its personal attachments, its admirations and hopes, its loves and hates, its preferences and aversions, its ideals; depending upon how these are evaluated and ordered by the "loving intellect," "the good of the intellect," as Dante put it. What these spells are to be depends in largest measure upon the exposures contrived by the parent for the child in early years to what is worthy and excellent and beautiful. It is not the parents' business to impose doctrines and beliefs; but to prepare the soil out of which these may healthily grow and continue growing. The parent is not to enforce *his* truth, *his* philosophy, *his* religion; but to nurture the spirit of truthfulness and sincerity, good will and honor, appreciation and love, temperance and self-control and courage, which are the conditions of any real belief.

What matters, after all, is that imponderable, the spirit of the thing. For the spirit in which a man holds his beliefs is of more importance than the beliefs themselves. He may hold them bitterly and cruelly, conceitedly and censoriously: and then they are accursed. It is the spirit that giveth life, and the letter that killeth.

Well may the parent realize at the outset that he has to equip the child to be ready to make the great choices of adulthood—vocation, marriage, citizenship, leisure, religion. He will be scrupulous not to dictate these choices either by the power of the purse or by bribes of any sort. He will do his best to make them the choices of that total character or organized personality which he has done his best to make wholesome, enlightened and trustworthy.

To close on the keynote struck at the start: I recall that my colleague, Dr. Henry Neumann, has written a most helpful book with the suggestive title, *Lives in the Making*. It prompts the repetition of the initial idea that all lives are endlessly in the making; and that by no endeavor are they more inspiringly and fruitfully in the making than by that of forwarding with wisdom and devotion the making of the budding personalities of children. Exit the "made" parent. Enter the parent whose unceasing making is cooperant with the growth and striving of the child.

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In the Magazines

Are You a Problem to Your Child? By Alice D. Kelly. Child Welfare, February 1933.

Consistency as the fundamental guide in dealing with children is the writer's plea. Constructive suggestions relating to real home situations are given.

Conflicts of Cultures and Children's Maladjustment. By John Levy. Mental Hygiene, January 1933.

Some case histories of children "who present problems resulting from the impact of two or more cultures upon them, and to show how language, manners, sex training, discipline and ideals have affected their adjustment." The author takes a definite stand in regard to language and the very young child, recommending "unity of language background" to avoid the confusion created by means of an early environment of two or more tongues.

Everyday Psychology of the Normal Child. By Edward A. Strecker. Mental Hygiene, January 1933.

An interpretation of what happens to the child as a result of his contact with the environment. "The problem becomes one of discovering the nature of the psychological potentials" and then of supplying so far as humanly possible those things that offer the growing individual an "opportunity to make for himself a workable personality."

Fairy Tales—Their Trial and Triumph. By Juliet Hartman. Hygeia, January 1933.

Arguments for and against fairy tales as desirable reading for children, culled from the writings of various educators, psychologists and psychoanalysts.

The Hardest Parent Problem. By George D. Stoddard. The Parents' Magazine, February 1933.

It is the simple idea of being honest with the child both in attitude and in speech which seems so involved a task. The situations given illustrate three factors in the parent-child relationship: "hypocrisy vs. sincerity; inconsistency vs. reliability; family tension vs. naturalness."

Newest Schools in Newest Russia. By Lucy L. W. Wilson. School and Society, January 28, 1933.

The educational system as established by the Soviet government has not been entirely successful. Under the Second Five Year Plan special emphasis will be placed on more effective training in skills and exact knowledge, on primary education for all children and adolescents, and on wiping out illiteracy among workers under fifty years of age.

A New School in American Samoa. By Edwin R. Embree. Survey Graphic, February 1933.

An interesting picture of the communal social and economic status of the Samoan Islands by E. R. Embree, who was appointed as one of a commission to plan a school for the American-governed islands of Samoa. "The dual objective of the school in Samoa is to maintain respect for the ancient customs and competence in the ancient skills—since these give meaning and satisfaction to Samoan life—and at the same time to equip the new generations with the finest intellectual tools which mankind the world over has devised and perfected; language, number, science and its application, social institutions and their uses."

Radio in the School Room. By I. B. Anon. School Music, January-February 1933.

Observations of two lessons over the radio are reported; the first, a fifth grade group, listening and taking notes in geography, the teacher not participating; the second, a fourth year group, listening to a lesson on hygiene, with the teacher participating and using the blackboard whenever an unfamiliar term was used. The writer, checking up on both lessons, comments on how the radio can function educationally, if utilized by a skillful teacher, as with the latter group.

Sex Instruction for Children. By W. T. B. Mitchell. The New Era, February 1933.

Children's questions and parents' attitudes are considered in this paper. In relation to the former, the writer describes the developmental phases of the child as related to his sex interest and growth.

Your Child's Choice of Friends. By William E. Blatz. The Parents' Magazine, February 1933.

A discussion of the attitude of parents toward their children's choice of friends. Dr. Blatz concludes: "The social standard in the home is the first and most lasting influence on the child's own social development."

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The Editors' Page

AMIDST the many offers of amusement in an increasingly be-leisured world, the most important thing we can do for ourselves and our children is to establish inner standards of choice by finding out what life for each one of us can be at its best. Granted leisure and untold potentialities for expression and appreciation in a world which, despite stupidities and bitternesses, is still fit for human ardors, delights and high adventures, what can you make of them? Until a person has prospected successfully for the gold in this inexhaustible continent, he is a babe in the hands of the glitter-makers of the movie, radio, cheap magazine and the like. For you cannot choose aright until you have learned by experience what interests and activities give you the most fun and the deepest satisfactions of which you are capable. Most broadcasts and movies are for people who have never learned.

CHILDREN learn through play; not through deprivation, argument or compulsion, but through eager giving of themselves to wholesome games and sports, to singing and dancing of a fine, liberating kind, and to other simple arts and crafts. The best schools are providing a wide range of such activities, at least for young children. But the prevailing interests and activities of adults outside of school are likely to have still larger influence on the children; and those interests are often tragically contrary. We should be playing with our children, and not only with them but also with other adults. Consider the effect that the ordinary adult "party" must have on the observing child. But the influence of delight and simple beauty may be felt even at the family meal and in the other common activities of home life.

THE unconscious shaping of the spirit again and again to simple beauty, to fine enthusiasms and happy relationships among beloved ones, and to the great fun of free, wholesome play and of attaining excellence, however simple, in some good, chosen pursuit —this is the best way toward finding the richest delights offered through amusements.

Augustus D. Zanzig

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